471 /44 cont./ In kampong Borongpalala, for instance, the total
556 sawah area amounts to approximately 450 hectares. The area of dry land is very insignificant here. Of these 450 hectares, around 160 hectares are in the hands of residents of Borongpalala, and around 290 are in the hands of people who live outside Borongpalala. Approximately 3 hectares of the latter amount belong to a number of small farmers of the Bontoramba type. The rest, almost 290 hectares therefore, belongs to a few kinsmen of the Prince /45/ of Goa, who in part live in kampong Karuisi 15 kilometers away from Borongpalala, and in part in Bone, 250 to 300 kilometers away. This kampong is clearly acquainted with large landownership. Deputies (koasa) of the large landowners direct operations there and collect the proceeds. These conditions will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Harvest Ritual

241 The tie between kampong residents and their land finds
346 expression at the harvest festival, which is held at a certain
778 place in the kampong territory, "the Lord of the Land" (Patanna pa'rasanganga) so-called. At this spot stands an old mango tree, and at its foot lie a few large, flat stones. Next to it a "little house" (saukang) has been built. It rests on four posts; the floor, 1.5 square meters, is about 1.0 meter above the ground; the walls are composed of completely transparent braiding; atop leaves serve as roof covering. In the center a fifth post extends about 20 centimeters through the floor, and this is called the "lopped-off house post" (benteng polong). Tree, stones, and the little house together form an important element of the sawah ritual. Usually, both before the planting as well as after the harvest, but also on other occasions of the rice growing, offerings are presented there, coupled with simple and essentially household festivities. Only the harvest festival will be described here.

346 778 /75 cont./ In 1939, when I came to Borongloë for the first time, a dilapidated little hut had been built over this rock. Around the same time attention seems to have been drawn to this "rock worship" by the Muhammadijah Association. Shortly after this, people of Borongloë, under the leadership of the head of the adat community and the old Imam, constructed a new cottage.

The rock is flat on top. Viewed from above, the greatest length amounts to about 60 centimeters and the greatest width to about 40 centimeters. Everywhere it is from 2 to 3 centimeters above the ground. At the time of the reconstruction, a pointed rock was placed at opposite sides of the flat rock along the extension of the longitudinal axis, at a distance from each other of approximately 80 centimeters. Each of these two rocks jutted about 15 centimeters out of the ground. In combination with the rock, they make an impression of eroded mesas on the visitor. Questioned about this, the head stated that a grave existed here although he was unable to state with certainty whose grave it was.

[769 178] The purpose of placing the two rocks seems clear. Externally, the rock worship gave way to grave worship. The demands of modern times had therefore been met by doing as they did.

634 778 At the climax of their inauguration festival, the two last adat community heads of Borongloë stood on this rock. There they took the oaths of loyalty (aru) of a number of their kapala and followers.

346 778 Right by the rock a little house (saukang) has been built. It stands on posts. The floor forms a rectangle of 1.0 by 1.5 meters; the walls consist of transparent braided bamboo. A fifth post is stuck in the middle of the floor, going right through it and rising about 30 centimeters above the floor. This is called the lopped-off house post (benteng polong). Rock and saukang belong together. Whenever offerings are made there, a parappo is placed /76/ both by the lopped-off house post as well as by the flat rock (1).

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaeng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
576 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
593 an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).

123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room
177 under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaeng stands there but says nothing. Beside

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs. Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc splits. 203 666 624 596

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave. As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-Heekeren. 778 565 574

The store has a brick underwall, and a house above. It appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always accepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked between ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it appeared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling, but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong, [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa, and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later. That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general. He added that there was a press in Makassar. 872 346 494 198 435 212

563 I then asked whether there were other stores in the kampong. He said there were several, mostly belonging to Chinese. Rahim said the Chinese live in a few houses along one street. He pointed them out saying that the Chinese, or at least some of them, had been there for a long time and speak Makassarese well. But, though they marry Makassarese girls, the children of such marriages never do, but instead follow their fathers' line. Evidently they marry Chinese. Thus it appeared that the Chinese breed mates for their own folk by first mating or marrying with local girls. Rahim added that although Chinese men married Makassarese girls, Makassarese men never married Chinese girls. This is understandable, as there are no Chinese girls until the second generation. Then they are considered Chinese and marry Chinese. I must ask about the feeling toward the Chinese on various points. Rahim went to this kampong school, and then to an intermediate school in Makassar, and then, I suppose, to a higher school.

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123 512 562 As we left the store the lads asked if I would take them to the mosque in my jeep. The old man especially said that it was a long walk for him. Indeed it was so. In fact, I wondered if he would have done it if there had been no jeep. Four of them, including Rahim's father, piled in, and I took them to the mosque. This is Friday, and many people were walking in that direction. Rahim said that it was taboo for women, and there were no women going.

346 177 The mosque was quite a fine one, white, with (amazing!) an old cremation urn at the top of one tower. Van Heekeren said this was usual. These urns were imported from China four to five hundred years ago, and were evidently used for ashes in Hindu days. But it is remarkable to me that one should be on top of a mosque!

285 I saw some very fine baskets in a store. One was varicolored with a round top which had words plaited in around the border. Perhaps I will buy it later.

342 Thus went the first day or at least the first morning. I will leave things alone for a while. And on Monday I will meet my assistant. My general impression of the houses in the kampong is one of a mixture. The good houses are built mainly of wood and thatch, but there are several of these which are poor and are falling down. Van Heekeren said that bamboo is scarce, hence the use of wood. And maybe that accounts for the lack of good repair in some cases. The people are pleasant and polite, I have been pleasantly impressed. I see very few women around here and wonder where they are. One sees many more in Java. And those one does see here, though often very fine, are not generally so handsome as the Javanese or Sundanese.

Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imam of the latter is the father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone. 368 [623]

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in legal cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he couldn't the case went to the karaëng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of an election when a great drum is beaten. 622 692 623 203

In addition to mosques, there are many surau, that is prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaëng is not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaëng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank. [346] 565 368

We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [running east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the territory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangau. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallarang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e.,literally, electoral college--Analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaëng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan. 632 565 114

Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. (See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the 175 565

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

● 346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

000 down from father to son within the ruling family. He said that Ternate once ruled over most of the Moluccas and up into the Philippine Islands. Tidore ruled mainly over New Guinea. Batjan, the other sultanate, was small and less important. This Sultan is a remarkable man and I will talk further with him when I read over my notes on Halmahera.

764 346 177 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Sixth day: I had to leave at eleven in the morning to go to Bone. I went at once to the graves of the radjas nearby and at Kale Goa. I noted that all of the tombs of the hundred-year ago type ("beehive") had an urn on top. I also noted that the mosques around here and also the shrine buildings have urns on top. (Later, in Watumpone, I noted that a mosque had, instead of the urn, a stone decoration which looked like an urn) This urn business must be a survival of the old mortuary use (or could it be a mere imitation of the onion shape of Byzantine decoration, which an urn approximates?). I had seen the beehive tombs near the Shrine of the Pigrimage the day before, as well as the large cemetery of regular graves. A bit further on I saw another mosque, and near it many more beehive tombs. I went into several of them.

764 782 778 Then I went on to Kale Goa, and on the plateau stand many older type tombs (see photographs), of rough stones, with low doors. And I also noted even older ones, near stone heap mounds. An old man said that the latter were from Hindu times, the former from the time of Datu ri Bandang, in the early seventeenth century, who was the introducer of Islam here. In one of them I saw people sitting crouched down. Several of them were from Pangkadjene, which is quite a distance away, and they had come to make requests. All this is amazing. Then, on a slight, rectangular, earth mound was the coronation stone of Goa. It is small and flat and low. It fell from heaven. Over it is a small gnarled tree which never grows nor diminishes. Nearby is a small fence around another larger and rounder stone which also fell from the sky. There is one beehive tomb here (photograph).

773 778 I then walked down a little valley to a small kampong, the old man telling me stories about Tumanurung [a legendary figure of unknown origin who married Karaëng Bayo. The couple became mythological founders of the Goa nobility--Analyst] and others the whole time. We reached a well which evidently also features in the cycle of the legend. Nevertheless, it is being used at the present time, and there was a woman there washing a white buffalo with water. I forgot to say that under the round stone is the dried-up well where Goa warriors used to wash for invulnerability before

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8
Celebes OG1

S 793 838 There are not many homosexual priests, but there are some. (Could this be an indication of Buginese influence, or is it from the common underlying base of both Buginese and Toradja culture?)

S 565 535 527 In Rantepao they have many tumbang at the mabua. There is a tumbang from each noble family.

Move to Watampone: I left Makale on September 21, and
C 117 went to Watampone via Pangkadjene. I started work there, but on Friday, September 23, at dusk, while returning from Cape Patiro I hit a stump and the jeep overturned throwing me out and cutting a gash many inches long in my scalp. I was knocked out but was soon taken to a house. People carried me to the office of the district kepala in the dark. This was several miles away. They carried me on a bamboo litter, and there was much blood. A party arrived with a doctor and I was taken to a hospital and stitched up. I was laid up for two weeks with a concussion. I am now writing on Wednesday, October 5, twelve days later, and seem to be all right. I hope to be able to leave here for Makassar on Sunday, October 9th.

Someone stole the spare tire and bracket from the jeep. It had evidently broken off on impact. This accident nearly finished me, and it made me miss the ship to Bima on September 30. I will now try to get the earliest ship going to either Bima or Ambon.

M 125 Watampone: Starting September 22, I spent most of my time recovering from the accident.

Andi brought me the census and map, both of which are fair. The census is poor in one respect, that is, the number of slaves and other classes given is only good for the heads of households. I will try to get more accurate data on this before I leave from the Kepala kampong. Also, the census is not really a complete job, and I made a mistake to say only the heads of households. And the census is good only for one of the three parts of the kampong complex. The results, however, are given below.

M 565 346 I talked a bit now and then with Andi and others. One thing I noticed was that across from the pasanggrahan there is a middle school, which was the former palace of the radja, as can be seen from the five flaps on the gabled tin front. The regalia were kept in a side building (like a pavilion), which is at present the principal's office. The walls are very thick (I thought of the atomic buildings which have thick walls to keep powerful rays inside!). The present Radja had a house built across the plaza, and for the regalia, a bigger pavilion alongside.

764 hundred years old and may show that Mohammedanism here
174 came in a little later than in Goa. These tombs seem to date from the period of conversion to Mohammedanism, judging from the dates, especially in Goa. In this cemetery there are also modern, ordinary graves.

The Kepala kampong said that before the war there were many fine urns on the tombs, but the Dutch controleur had taken them. Later on van Heekeren told me that the Japanese took a lot of these urns too.

● 346 We went to look at the old and the new mosques. Both have
174 urns on top, as in Goa. The one on the old mosque has blue and white figures on it; the one on the new mosque is brown, apparently of a solid color. I asked van Heekeren, and he said that all mosques have these urns, even in the Paloppo and Luwu areas. He says that these urns are of Chinese origin and were formerly used to hold the ashes and charred bones (i.e., some of the bones) of the cremated bodies, before Islam came in. Van Heekeren is sure that there is not very much Hindu influence here; the urn burial trait is not
[126] Hindu but merely pre-Islamic Makassarese and Buginese. I took some photographs and gave some polaroid prints to the Kepala kampong, of him and his wife in Hadji dress, with their little daughter (perhaps one and a half years old, who waves when you say dag [hello or good-bye--Analyst]).

000 While we were talking about slaves an old fellow came in and stood at the foot of the stairs mentioning something to the Kepala kampong. He was the slave of the assistant chief (seriang). They talked in a very low whisper.

838 Talking with Andi, I brought up the homosexual matter
793 again. He maintains that homosexuals are numerous here.
778 The official ones are attached to the aradjang and at the head of them is the puang matoa, chief of the bissu. When the aradjang is taken out, the bissu from many kampongs gather in Watampone and dance. I asked if every wanua has an aradjang. They do not. However, there are some kampongs that have them. The bissu handle and take out these lesser aradjang too. This also would bear research.

838 Andi went on and on about the scandalous behavior of the
548 ordinary homosexuals (tjalabai). They dress and act like women and are found everywhere. There are many in Watampone. They swish and flirt and stick rolled up handkerchiefs in their blouses to imitate breasts. Andi says that many men are crazy about them and spend lots of time and money to have sex with them. He was surprised that I had seen none. I do remember at the pasar malam, that I had seen a "girl" in a bright red blouse (kabaya), and a well painted face. "She"

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 181 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 171 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

● 346 764 177 771 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb, he said that he had heard from informed men that they had formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence 586 595 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kampong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 881 565 343 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place